

583 Forms of dual organisation between pairs of reciprocating groups have always
 528 been of limited scope as the groups tended to reside apart from each other, and
 616 each group tended to have marriage exchange relations with several other groups
 at the same time. Even the short genealogies of Sivepe show evidence that the
 families of this village have been participating in no less than twenty-five
 reciprocating pairs of groups, the exchange sometimes consisting of no more
 [177] than one recorded exchange of women between two villages. Interestingly
 [361] enough, it was Australian pressure towards village consolidation that emphasised
 the tendency to dual organisation.

361 First of all, co-residence tends to increase the number of marriages between
 178 local clan groups which are thus thrown together. Usually, such local clan groups
 614 are already reciprocating pairs, but when co-residence is established, they begin
 583 to reciprocate at a greater rate. For instance, the Seho and Jegase local clan
 groups in Sivepe, comprising together sixteen households, are linked by seven
 current Seho-Jegase marriages. This was sufficient to define the seven Seho
 households and the nine Jegase households as standing in an affinal relation to
 one another.

614 In such a village the other households tend to be classified as adhering to one
 621 of the two dominant local clan groups. A few years before I came to Sivepe,
 166 Rimoldi and Waddel had both visited the village and recorded the presence of a
 616 third local clan group, called Timumu. On my arrival I found that this group,
 consisting of three households, had adopted the Jegase clan name, thus
 establishing a tidy dualist pattern between one group defined as agnates and a
 second group defined as affines. A few months before I settled in Sivepe, six
 households migrated there from Garombi. All the men were members of the
 Sorovi clan, though of different lineages. A year after they migrated, five of the
 householders were classified as part of the Jegase clan (by the use of sibling
 terms of address) while the sixth was classified as part of the Seho clan.

621 I found a similar pattern in eleven other multi-clan villages I visited. When I
 614 first inquired, I was mostly told that they were two-clan villages, the names of
 616 the clans being given in each case. Two of the villages were said to have four
 clans, two pairs of two. Whenever I sought detailed data, I found male
 householders belonging to additional clans. In Hohorita I was told that the front
 half was inhabited by two clans, and the back half by two further clans. In fact
 twelve clans were represented; when this came to light, my informants explained
 to me that the clan names I had been given at first were those of the 'main'
 clans. There seemed to be a strong ideological notion that a multi-clan village (or
 [582] village section) should consist of two local clan groups. Furthermore, this
 arrangement affects the marriage rules: once Timumu became joined with Jegase
 under the same clan name, marriages between the two fused local clan, groups
 became prohibited.

5. Complementary Opposition in Village Topography

If the reduction of multi-clan to two-clan villages had occurred only in
 Sivepe and a few other villages, it could easily be explained solely by processes
 of clan fusion which are prevalent throughout the area and which will be
 discussed further below. But I found it to be a regular feature of the

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consolidated Orokaiva villages I visited. Yet historical evidence of earlier settlements precludes the supposition that co-residence of reciprocating marriage groups was ever a regular practice or a preferential rule. Such co-residence can be explained only by Australian pressure towards village consolidation. Far from being congenial to the Orokaiva, it may better be regarded as a major potential cause of strain. When the Australian administration planned to intensify this consolidation policy after the Mount Lamington eruption in 1951, Belshaw rightly warned the authorities in a published paper (1951) that the enforced co-residence of affines would create serious social strains which might impede the administration's social development objectives. The Orokaiva response to these social strains appears to have been to restructure the multi-clan villages and give them an organisational form they are more easily able to handle. Under this arrangement agnates, uterine kin and affines live together in the same village but are sorted into two groups of real or fictional agnates. These two groups have affinal relations with one another and stand in complementary opposition in social and political affairs.

In some villages this complementary opposition is further expressed in the position of the two groups in village topography. Nearly all Orokaiva villages are built in two facing rows separated by a fairly wide grassed area known as the *araha*. For cosmological reasons that do not concern us here, these rows tend to run in the direction of the top of Mount Lamington - from downhill (*veari*) to uphill (*avunu*). The two rows are known as *mende* or *bende*, a word which may mean 'nose' or 'hillock' or 'side of a village'. The two sides are designated as *ihane* and *sose*, *ihane* being to the right of a person facing the mountain, *sose* on the left. In 1965, when Sivepe was rebuilt on a new site, all Seho men built their houses on the *ihane* side while all Jegase men built on the *sose* side.

Outwardly, the topography of this new Sivepe does not differ significantly from the earliest descriptions we have of Orokaiva villages in the early post-contact period. These villages also had two sides. They had the same short connecting lines of houses at the *avunu* and *veari* ends of the village. Williams reports that these connecting lines prevent spirits from coming into the *araha*. The only differences are in size and in the style of the houses. The basic innovation in New Sivepe lies in the arrangement of social groups on the village site. Real or assumed agnatic links now exist between all the householders on each side, whereas affinal relations exist between all the householders of one side and the other. The door openings of the affines face each other, but they are separated by the wide field of the *araha*. When people sit down to smoke and chew betelnut in front of their houses, there is easy movement between residents who live on the same side. They frequently visit each other's fires without any ceremony. But one does not cross the *araha* to sit on the other side without a serious purpose. One watches what happens on the other side; one does not always hear it. There is frequent and friendly contact between the sides but it is clear to the observer that the physical distance between them symbolises an equally real social distance.

This residential arrangement between affines is not traditional. If affines happened to live in a traditional hamlet there were no formal patterns for keeping them at a physical distance. When multi-clan villages were first established, households of the various clans were placed next to each other in a

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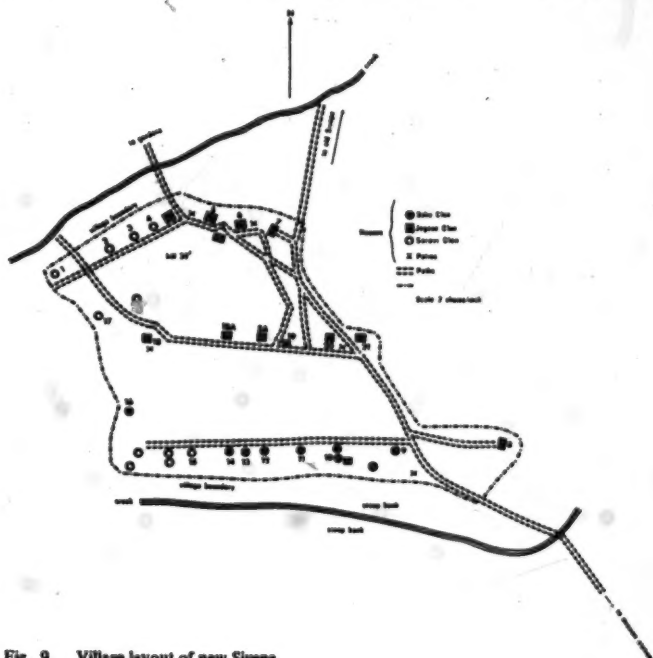


Fig. 9. Village layout of new Sivepe.

361 rather irregular pattern. Village plans of Sivepe drawn by Rimoldi and Waddell in
 616 1963 and 1964 show no formal separation between the clans. Some neighbour-
 614 ing villages, such as Garombi, however, did allocate one side to each of their two
 621 clans. The fact that Sivepe introduced this pattern in 1965 has no particular
 explanation except that it appealed to the Seho clan leader who supplied the
 land for the village site. One might describe his innovation as an idiosyncrasy or
 a fashion but at the same time it is significant that the pattern of residence he
 introduced resembles that familiar to anthropologists in the many parts of the
 world where exogamous moieties are found.

583 I have now shown most of the evidence for direct marriage exchange and
 616 forms of dual organisation. The question that remains to be answered is why this
 121 system was so fitfully practised. Are the discrepant cases to be explained merely
 by organisational factors such as lack of choice, the vicissitudes of war, the need
 for alliances? Or are there present in the culture a further set of rules related to
 marriage which we have not yet considered and which are irreconcilable with the
 principle of direct marriage exchange?

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It is obvious, first of all, that the Orokaiva rules concerning bilateral cross-cousin marriage and reciprocating pairs of groups are not free from ambiguity. The term *simbo* is not synonymous with the term 'cross-cousin'. Not all societies which have reciprocating pairs of groups have direct marriage exchange, as Lévi-Strauss showed in respect of the Koiari. The fact that the Sivepe people were partners in no less than twenty-five reciprocating pairs of groups in two generations poses the question whether this apparent instability corresponds to a structural regularity such as the 'sex affiliation' of the Koiari. Furthermore, in view of Lévi-Strauss' analysis of the African *lobola*, we need to investigate whether the Orokaiva institution of bridewealth (*dorobu*) is consistent with the principle of direct marriage exchange. Such inquiries would not serve to deny the reality of this principle in Orokaiva culture but rather to raise the possibility of the combined presence of direct and generalised exchange. 583 616 121

6. Kinship Terminology

Though Williams' description of Orokaiva kinship terminology is generally very accurate, it is deficient in two respects: his definition of the term *simbo* (quoted in section 4 above) is inconsistent with Orokaiva usage and he gives no terms for female speakers. Yet it is in these two areas that we find the key to Orokaiva marriage. We have seen that a *simbo* is — always and exclusively — a marriageable consanguine. If Williams were right in saying that a *simbo* is also — always and exclusively — a cross-cousin, then a rule of bilateral *simbo* marriage would be unambiguously equivalent to a rule of bilateral cross-cousin marriage. If the term *simbo* could be positively defined as a bilateral category of cross-cousins (as the Aranda do), then again we would have a rule of bilateral cross-cousin marriage. In the absence of a positive rule, however, the Orokaiva kinship system could not be regarded as 'elementary' in Lévi-Strauss' sense of the term, and thus it would not contain a true rule of bilateral cross-cousin marriage. 601

Again where such a rule prevails consistently, there would seem to be no need of special affinal terms. Williams, entirely correctly, gives a set of distinct affinal terms for male speakers which would suggest that the whole system is based on generalised rather than restricted exchange. Williams' explanation of this apparent discrepancy appears to be an evolutionary one: *dorobu* came first (and established the terminology) while *mine* developed later. As we shall see, the reality is more complex, as the Orokaiva use two types of affinal terminology: one type which is consistent with generalised exchange and another which is consistent with direct exchange. The former of these two types of terminology is in regular use by men and the latter by women. This fact is consistent with the theory that the Orokaiva marriage system is a combination of generalised and restricted exchange.

For the purpose of a componential analysis of terms we shall consider only terms used in face-to-face interaction by *ego* to address an *alter* when no other relative is present. The following dimensions of contrast apply:

Consanguine(C): *Ego* traces relationship to *alter* through a chain of linkages based on filiation, or a shared clan name, or common birth in a distant village.

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exchange alone, nor by rules of complex generalised exchange alone. If the Orokaiva had only restricted exchange, they would not be periodically forced to look for new groups with whom to intermarry. If the Orokaiva had only complex exchange (as Meggitt seems to believe is the case for all people of the New Guinea Highlands, viz. the Introduction to Glasse and Meggitt, 1969), then there would be no explanation for the various forms of preferential marriage that are still practised and the tendency to establish forms of dual organisation.

From one viewpoint we may say that the Orokaiva system is '*une sorte de faille de l'échange restreint*', because the Orokaiva are forever trying to re-establish such a system. From another viewpoint it is true that, having entered into new alliances and thus moved in the direction of a system of generalised exchange, they always attempt as soon as possible to convert the new alliance into a moiety system. The fear of setting up alliances with new groups is still very strong today, in spite of wide experience with travel among foreign tribes when men take up wage employment outside their own district. They still marry wives preferably from their own village, or one of the villages with which reciprocal arrangements exist. There was not a single current Sivepe marriage that fell outside this pattern.

It is certainly curious that the chief effect of white contact upon the marriage system was to emphasise the tendency to the formation of moieties through enforced village consolidation. One would have expected that greater physical security, greater mobility and the contacts brought about through labour migration would have widened rather than narrowed the men's matrimonial universe. One imagines that processes of social and economic development must ultimately make an ideology of restricted exchange obsolete. Meanwhile, however, we observe mainly a movement in the opposite direction. Not only has government pressure unintentionally increased the opportunities for village endogamy, and moiety formation, but the combined teaching of government and mission has deprecated elopement marriages, and penalised the showing of hostility between affines. The war expeditions which led indirectly to so many marriages were stopped. The concern with pacification on the part of the authorities led to an even greater preference than previously for 'safe' marriages and therefore a narrowing of the marriage universe. My records show more marriages with partners from distant villages prior to 1915 than can be found over the last generation. It is therefore complex generalised rather than restricted exchange that was (unintentionally) discouraged.

10 Conclusions

This examination of the Orokaiva marriage system indicates that membership in corporate groups (the *hæ*, the local clan group and the village) all have a significant influence on marriage choice, not only negatively, by prohibiting certain partners under a rule of exogamy, but also positively, by pursuing from time to time the establishment of forms of dual organisation. Certainly every individual is more or less free to choose between the two existing systems — direct exchange and complex generalised exchange. There is, however, a constant feature on the level of group relationships, namely the existence of reciprocating pairs of groups. Another constant feature is the temporary nature of these

361 Comparing Inonda and Sivepe, we notice that Inonda follows more closely the spatial arrangements that are considered ideal for modern villages, but that Inonda has remained static in size for a number of decades. Sivepe shows irregularities in spatial arrangement, but has rapidly increased in size in accordance with Australian ideas of village development. The fusion of 1948 doubled its traditional size, while a lineage and a local clan group were added since. These increments have as yet been imperfectly absorbed.

Section 3: Social Groups

621 Within a village, two kinds of kinship group larger than the
592 elementary family may be distinguished, namely the javo wakai (clan)
616 and the hae (lineage, or plant emblem group). We may also distinguish
614 two kinds of residential group, the occupants of a bande or side and
of a bande or house. On the nature of the clan I shall be brief here,
reserving detailed documentation for my doctoral dissertation. It
seems to me mainly a political unit, held together by--in some but not
all cases--belief in common descent from a single patrilineal ancestor,
by the common name (javo) by which they call themselves and which they
call out when slaying an enemy or a pig or in other moments of great
stress, by the recognition of obligations towards and claims upon
others who bear the same clan name. Rimoldi (1966: 33) is right when
he calls the Orokaiva clan "only a social category."

613 The word hae means "plant emblem," but the word is also used
to denote collectively all persons sharing the same plant emblem.
The clan name (javo wakai) is transmitted only patrilineally, but the
transmission of the hae is more complex. A person regards his hae,
which may be any plant or part of a plant, or another natural substance,
as a part of his own identity. He may respect it in the manner of a
totem but such avoidances seem always to have been to some extent a
matter of personal choice. (Williams, 1930: 127-218) The hae is
used in a number of social contexts as a mark of identity. Williams
seemed to believe that a hae was the distinguishing mark of a clan,
but later investigators (Crocombe and Hogbin, Rimoldi) take it to be
the distinguishing mark of a lineage.

It is indeed true that when a man has a certain hae his
children will also use it. The children will also, on occasion, use
the hae of their mother, especially when they are on the land of their
maternal kinsfolk. There are other, more idiosyncratic forms of
inheritance: one man uses the hae of a hereditary friend when he is on
the land which passed into the possession of his family through that
friend. Normally, maternal hae are not inherited further; no person
uses the hae of his mother's mother, or of his father's mother. In
these circumstances it is reasonable to assume that a man who has the
same hae as oneself is of the same blood. This is not to be understood

614 affiliations has changed. In 1962, when Rimoldi did his survey of the
621 community, not a single Sorovi family had arrived. Moreover, he
showed four residences and one bachelor's house as attached to the
Timumu clan, a clan name that was not quoted to me. The same families
still inhabit Sivepe (except for one old man who died) but they now
call themselves Jegase. (This fusion between Jegase and Timumu
occurred, to my knowledge, only between the Sivepe local clan groups.)
In 1962, Jegase had eight residences and one bachelor's house, so that
the overall pattern in these four years has remained much the same
except for the fusion of the clans. Bachelors of the enlarged Jegase
clan shared one bachelors' house in 1967, seeing that the clans had
[731] been joined. The major change between the time of the eruption and
1962 was the migration of three families from Binduta to Sivepe, all
classified as Jegase in 1962. Just as it was possible to change the
clan name of the entire Timumu group by a simple decision of the two
local clan groups, so also it was possible to change the clan name
of individuals simply as a way of emphasising common loyalties which
developed out of a combination of cognatic links and contingent
circumstances. (This pattern is characteristic of New Guinea patri-
lineal clans in many areas and has been discussed recently in an
excellent paper by J. A. Barnes, 1967.)

361 One striking characteristic of the village layout of New Sivepe
is that all the Saho houses are grouped together on the same bende
614 while the other bende of the main village is entirely made up of
Jegase houses. Sorovi, the clan which migrated to Sivepe from Carombi
616 shortly before my arrival, has mainly settled along the brow of the
hill behind the village, probably partly because that area happens to
be owned by a Sorovi man (who continued to live in Carombi), so that
in case of a quarrel, nobody could question their right to build on
that land. The other houses on the brow of the hill were built by
Jegase people who preferred to keep out of the regular two-line
system. People often talked about their intention to build all the
houses along the two regular lines eventually.

The basic structural feature of New Sivepe was this dualism,
expressed in the division between two "sides" each comprising one clan.
This kind of village plan has been studied in much detail by Lévi-Strauss
[582] under the term "diametric structure" (1958: 150). An essential part
of this structure is that each side is exogamous but that the two
[601] sides intermarry with one another. It is thus in Sivepe where people
living along the same side address each other always by consanguineal
kin terms whereas people living on the opposite side tend to be addressed
by affinal terms, with the obvious exceptions. The reserve and
formality observed when people cross the graha to go to the other side
is easily explained when it is remembered that on the other side they
will meet affines.

It will be noted that this pattern is very much less clearly
discernible in Old Sivepe where the two-clan system was not yet worked
out. On the other hand, I have found it in several other resettlement

361 villages (Garonbi, Soroputa, Hohorita). When New Sivepe was built it had become a familiar procedure and was simply copied from other villages.

614 It is an interesting adaptive institution, and the Orokaiva answer to Australian pressure towards the building of multi-clan villages.

616 Belshav clearly stated the problem that was involved: "How far [177] was the earlier hamlet system the result of tendencies towards violence and strife in the society, and to what extent will such tendencies be overcome or intensified by the new arrangements?"

(1951: 246) It can now be seen that diametric structure was the Orokaiva answer to this danger of violence and strife. While affines were separated by the araha, the araha was widened so it could be used as a playing field, as happened at Sivepe but by no means in all the villages.

614 Rimoldi classified the Jegase clan into four lineages (Berekipa, Sesevopa, Arehu, Bebehupa) and one extinct lineage (Hambai). He 613 further distinguished two Timumu lineages (Hajejopa, Pekuma), which should now be added to the Jegase list. Certainly, each of these six groups have common plant emblems not shared by the others; the lineages are therefore each part of a distinctive plant emblem group. Families of the same plant emblem group make no particular efforts to reside close together; the social functions of "lineage" are mutual assistance and close solidarity. The importance of the concept of "lineage" varies from clan to clan; while Jegase has this relatively long list of lineage names, Seho has no such list. Conversely, while Jegase has no common ancestor upon which all members of the clan are agreed, Seho has a human eponymous ancestor about whom a myth is told. Seho also has a totem animal (Garu = wallaby) while Jegase is actually the name of the totem animal recognised by all its members. It is a small flying insect present in great numbers around the taro leaves. It is possible, however, to classify Seho according to groups which share plant emblems and investigation shows that both clans equally are the result of fairly recent fusions; the lineages or plant emblem groups, however, are of somewhat greater antiquity. I saw evidence of the creation of new plant emblems and of the dying off of old plant emblems, so that even the plant emblems do not survive indefinitely. But Orokaiva rightly regard the plant emblem as sign of a relationship of greater antiquity, for clan allegiance can be changed in a day whereas the plant emblem group can always be traced back beyond human memory, i.e., beyond 50 years or so.

621 Inonda, in the same period, has developed in the direction of a one-clan village. In 1951, out of 12 households, eight were of the Andiriha clan and three of Jego'undi. In 1966, the wife in this 614 remaining household had died and the widower, with his four children, moved into an Andiriha household. As in Sivepe, many of the people now calling themselves Andiriha were not born with that clan name, but took it after settling in Inonda. Crocombe and Hogbin divided the Andiriha local clan group of Inonda into four "lineages," for which they quoted, in each case, a single plant emblem (1963: 17). They

quent indeed, while spending relatively less time with the rest. 824
Inevitably a gradation of associations thus develops. This gradation 431
of associations, among the Orokaiva, is expressed by the 571
ritual statement of taro gifts, made with varying frequency. We 621
thus find that the first (i.e., most frequent) partner is involved
in an average of 38% of all taro transactions, the second partner
in 24%, the third partner in 12%. The first and second partners
are in a clearly privileged position.

A second way of describing the pattern of intimacy would
be to assume that there is some community norm whereby a
certain degree of intimacy is expressed by a specific frequency
of gifts. My impression, supported by the statistical facts and
some generalizations offered by informants, is that each house-
hold has a few preferential partners to whom they give or from
whom they receive taro at least twice a week, but often far
more frequently. In this sense every household in my sample has
at least two preferential partnerships. Nine out of twenty-two
had a third, two had a fourth, while the leader of the Seho clan
had five.

Topographically it is a general rule that neighboring house-
holds form preferential partnerships. As the two clans live in 616
rows on opposite sides of the village, linkages across the village 614
square (*araha*) were thus comparatively sparser than linkages
on each side, though some interclan linkages were effected
through the households living along the short ends of the quad-
rangle, these being only weakly linked to either clan but, in a
social sense, intermediate between the two.

Two types of hierarchical ordering should be distinguished 924
in this model. The first is the ordering within each clan, where 571
some people are intimate with the sociometric star whereas 431
others are connected with him through being intimate with an
intimate. The second type of ordering is close to what graph
theorists call a Hamilton circuit (Harari and Ross, 1954; Fla-
ment, 1968) and would be consistent with an almost total ab-
sence of stratification. For the purpose of a particular transac-
tion with someone outside or inside the village, one often needs
the cooperation of a person with whom one is not intimate. This
fact is expressed in the model by the size of the total circle and